AN

Impartial Enquiry

Into the

CAUSES

Of the PRESENT

Fears and Dangers

OF THE

Government,

Being a

DISCOURSE

Between a Lord Lieutenant, *and one of his* Deputies, *Summoned to hold a* Lieutenancy, *for Raising the* Militia.

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Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I am glad 'tis my good Fortune to be the firſt that attends your Lordſhip upon your *Summons*, and I hope your Lordſhip will give me leave before your other Deputies come (in whoſe fidelity to the Government, I cannot much confide) to be informed by your Lordſhip of the Cauſes for putting the Country to this *New Charge*.

Pray, my Lord, are there any real fears of a *powerful Invaſion*, as the Proclamation ſays? are we ſo weak at *Sea*, after ſo many Millions expence, that our *Ships* cannot ſecure us from any *foreign Invaſion*?

We were perſwaded, that no *French* Ships durſt once look ours in the Face, and that we were to make a *Diſcent into France* with a potent Army; and the Parliament gave the utmoſt penny that was demanded, both for *Fleet* and *Army*, according to the computation brought them; and our Countrymen were made to hope, that our King would have been in *Paris* before *Michaelmas-day*; and nothing eaſed their Minds in paying 5 *s.* or 6 *s.* in the pound out of their Lands this year again, and a *quarterly Poll* beſide, *never heard of before in England*, for themſelves, their Wives, Children and Servants, but only their hopes, that theſe ſhould be the *laſt Taxes*, that they

should ever pay, and that all the charge hereafter should be imposed upon *France*, and the *forfeited Estates* of our Enemies.

And my Lord are we come to that pass now, that both *Fleet* and *Army* cannot defend our *Island* but that the *poor People* must again bear the charge of raising the *Militia*, as *great as any of the Taxes*?

Truly, my Lord, I dare not tell you, how the Countrys murmur, nor what they say among themselves, but they talk strangely of our *making War abroad*, if we be not *safe at home*; and they begin to ask, why they are plagu'd with *quartering Soldiers*, and paying them besides, if they must be put to *defend* themselves?

But I must not tell your Lordship more of their talk; I hope your Lordship knows that there is no great danger, and that this *Summons* for raising the *Militia* will go no further. Yet I will be plain with your Lordship, the Countrey does say, if there be real danger, *the Government is betrayed*.

Lord Lieut. Sir, at your Request, I shall not refuse to give you the best satisfaction I can, knowing your Prudence and Fidelity to this Government, tho I shall only pursue my Orders to the *whole Lieutenancy*, to put the Country into the *best Posture* I can.

I dare tell you plainly, that there was *greater danger* of the *Subversion* of the whole Government, than I could have imagined, and if it be *blown over*, it is to be ascribed to Nothing but to the *Divine Providence*.

It is most certain. That there was a deep and dangerous Design laid, as that *Monsieur d'Estre*, the *French* Admiral, should provide at *Thoulon* in the *Streights* (out of our sight, and free from our suspicion, whereof we could not well have Intelligence) a *potent Fleet*, fit to convoy and transport a great Army into this Kingdom and to bring that Fleet into *Brest*, before the end of *March* last, and the *French* King had supplyed the late King *James* with Money, Arms and Ammunition, and collected together 20000 *Scotch*, *Irish*, *English*, *French* and *Swiss*, and assigned them quarters upon the Coasts of *Normandy* to be ready to imbarque upon the first Arrival of the Fleet from *Thoulon*, and from thence it was designed to pass directly to *Portsmouth*, and the Isle of *Wight*, which had not been a Work of many hours.

And had not the good God prevented that Fleet's coming by contrary Winds for *Five weeks together*, they had certainly compassed their Design, before any of the *English* or *Dutch* Fleets could have been at Sea, to have made the least opposition, and the late K. *James* his Agents, and such as are *treacherous to the present Government* had dispersed the Knowledge of this Design to their Confidents throughout *England*, and given Orders that they should be in readiness to *get together* in every County, upon the *first News* of the Landing of the late K. *James*, to disturb and distract the coming together of the *Militia*.

And to that purpose K. *James*'s Adherents, and Men of desperate Fortunes had bought up most of the *serviceable Horses* in all the Fairs of the Kingdom, and were come to such a height of confidence, as to boast of the Assurance they had of the *greatest Numbers* of the *Lieutenancy* of most Countries, especially the City of *London*; and of their Partakers among the Officers of the Army and Fleet, and of *great Numbers of the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy, that would immediately declare for K.* James.

They bragged, with what reason I will not say, that greater Men than are fit to be named had *made their Peace with King James*, and taken their Pardons, and would be ready to declare, that they never served K. *William*, but according to the Statute of *Hen.* 7. as *K. in Possession*, owning the *right* to be in K. *James*.

Sir, This design being now known, appear

pears to me to have been so politickly laid, that I know not what could have prevented our ruin, if the Winds and the Seas had not fought for our preservation. I must confess, I often wondred, that the *Enemies of the Government* were so busy and so bold, that Justice seemed to be asleep, and their Enormities were connived at, and *many* of them were admitted into *Power* and *Trust*, and had *better credit* and acceptance with divers in *Authority*, than Men of the most *approved Fidelity* to the Government; yet before these Discoveries were made, I did not believe the *Government* had been *so near a Precipice*, that there wanted but a *favourable wind* to subvert it.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I am afrighted to see the danger we have escaped. But, pray my Lord, is there *no money* allowed for *Intelligence*? are there none that watch for the Safety of the Kingdom? is it possible, that Fleets and Armies can be provided invisibly? I doubt the Country has too much reason to say, that *their Majesties are betrayed.*

I must confess, my Lord, I have been troubled with *murmurs* and *Suspitions of that kind from understanding Gentlemen*, as often as I came from *Parliament*, but I always used the best skill I had, to suppress such thoughts and fears, and prayed their patience to expect a *fitter Season for their Majesties to suppress their Enemies and reward their Friends.*

But the great Pressures of the Country, have been so long continued, and their hopes of relief so often deluded, that if I should now tell them (as your Lordship hath kindly told me) that they were, and are, in as great danger of utter ruin, as at the beginning of the *hopeful Revolution*, they would be out of all patience, and *conclude* positively, That *the Kingdom could not be in such a Condition, if their Majesties Councels and Designs were not betrayed.*

I profess, my Lord, I know not how to allay the Countrey's Jealousies of some in *too much Power* with their Majesties, nor how to perswade them to bear this additional burthen of *raising the Militia* chearfully, unless I could shew them a *speedy End* of their Sufferings, in the Safety of their Religion, Laws and Liberties.

I confess, my Lord, I have been and *am*, as much troubled, as any of my Neighbors to see the conduct of their Majesties Affairs, ever since their Settlement, and have often thought they were betrayed from the beginning; and if your Lordship can spare me a few moments, and pardon my freedom, and let it be under the *Rose*, I will tell your Lordship, why I have so long doubted, that their Majesties are betrayed, and I beg your correction if I mistake. I know your Lordship's Intereſt and Mine are involved in their Majesty's Government, and it is high time to consult our own safety, if they be betrayed.

Lord Lieut. *Sir*, I am glad of this opportunity to compare Notes; pray, be free, and let us inspect the *whole Administration* since the Revolution.

The *Commons in Parliament* (you know better than I, having been a Member there) have been complaining, almost from the beginning, of *Ill* and *Unfaithful Instruments* about the King: Some they have named, and others they decyphered; and you may remember they sent to the K. to *know* who advised him to imploy some of the late K. *James*'s Instruments in Trusts of *great Importance*; but they found no effect of all their Endeavours.

I have often sate in *the house of Lords* with an aking Heart to see good Proposals (for their Majesties and the Kingdoms security) *opposed*, and rejected by *pretended Favourites*; I believe, you have done the same among the *Commons*; therefore if you please, we will look back upon the *whole Conduct*, and see what we ought to conclude from thence.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, You oblige me to speak my whole heart in this Affair, and I must

must confeſs my Fears of Treachery began as ſoon as I ſaw the Prince of *Orange* paſs *Salisbury* without oppoſition, and with the Proteſtants great Applauſe.

I was afraid that thoſe, who had been the *Kingdom's Enemies*, ſeing themſelves unable to *reſiſt the Prince*, would either *deſtroy* him, or his good deſigns, by *flatteries* and *falſe Inſinuations*. ——I firſt obſerved an Attempt to bring him to a *Treaty* with the *late King*, and to ſtand upon *equal Terms* to the Judgment of the *late King's Parliament*, hoping to have ſhamed the Kingdom with ſuch ſpecious Conceſſions, for keeping out Popery, and redreſſing Grievances, that might have ſent the Prince home again with a *good Sum of Money, and fair Promiſes*.

But the *Cowardice* of the late K. after *Commiſſions* for a Treaty ſigned, made that attempt fruitleſs, and brought him to be at the Prince his Diſpoſe.

The *next Treachery* was, to perſwade our Now King to have preſently cauſed *his Army to proclaim him King*, and to have aſſumed to himſelf the Royal Office; preſuming thereby to have kindled hatred and revenge in the hearts of more than thoſe, whoſe Love he had gained by his Declarations for reſtoring our Religion, Laws and Liberties,

His Enemies knew, that his Force bore no proportion with the ſtrength of the Kingdom, which would have had an Abhorrence of him and his Foreigners, and an Indignation to have been cokes'd & cheated into ſuch a perfect Slavery by him they truſted, who had appealed to Heaven, that his Soul abhorred ſuch a deſign: But the Vanity and pernicious Conſequence of theſe Counſels were ſo diſcovered to our King, that he eſcaped that ſnare, and choſe to be adviſed by a *Convention of all that had been Members of late Parliaments*, who juſtly propoſed, that the People ſhould have notice to chooſe their Repreſentatives to re-eſtabliſh their Government.

In the Interim diverſe of thoſe, who had been the *worſt* of K. *James's Inſtruments* in his Deſigns againſt our Religion and Government, applyed themſelves to our K. with the moſt *ſervile Flatteries* and *mean Submiſſions* to gain an eſteem with him, and *admiſſion* into his *Councels*, hoping thereby to ſerve their own Maſter's Intereſt, when the Repreſentatives ſhould meet, and therefore craftily perſwaded our K. from all courſes that tended to the *utter Excluſion* of K. *James*, they inſinuated *bugbear Dangers* of the ſcattering and diſperſing of K. *James's* Army, and adviſed the *gathering* them into *Troops* and *Companies* that had diſperſed themſelves; and to bring our K. into Debt, procured his Promiſes of *paying their Arrears*, who were raiſed by K. *James* for the deſtruction of our Religion and Government.

At the ſame time, they were very buiſy by *falſe Inſinuations*, and (with too much unhappy Succeſs) to prevent our K's acceptance of the repeated Offers from ſeveral Counties and Cities, to raiſe him Regiments of Volunteers at their own Charge, upon whoſe fidelity he might have abſolutely depended.

At this time alſo the ſame ſecret Adherents to K. *James* indeavoured to keep his Authority alive in *Ireland*, and his poſſeſſion of that Kingdom by the Lord *Tyrconnel*, they found ways to prevent the acceptance of the L. *Tyrconnel's* frank offers *preſently to reſign that Kingdom* which (tho then concealed) are ſince publickly printed by Dr. *King* in his excellent Book, Entituled, *the State of the Proteſtants in Ireland, under the late K. James*.

They craftily perſwaded *Tyrconnel*, that his condition was deſperate, and that there was no ſafety for him but in Arms, and gained time for him to new model the *Iriſh* Army (which were then for the moſt part *Proteſtants*) and to prepare that Kingdom to be a *refuge* for K. *James* and his *French*.

In

In this State of Affairs the Convention met, and *K. James*'s Agents, and our *K.*'s now Flatterers, were very near betraying him to settle K. *James* in his Throne, and to provide for his *speedy Return*, under a shew of *excluding* him, they pretended to applaud and admire our *K.*'s Vertues, and to own the Kingdom infinitely obliged to him, and therefore proposed to make him *REGENT* of the Kingdom; as if they would have resigned all things unto his Conduct; but with the same Breath, they *treacherously insinuated a Divine Right in K. James* to hold the Crown, and insisted that there could be no lawful Authorities in the Kingdom that were not derived from him; which was to make their proposed *Regent K. James*'s Officer; they set up *Conscience for a Stale*, alledging, that none could *absolve* the Kingdom from their *Oaths of Allegiance* to *K. James*, and sought to subvert all the Principles of the *Legal English Government*, by defaming and blackning for *Common-wealths-men* all that durst assert (as our Ancestors have done in like Cases) that *K. James* had broken his *Original Contract* and Oath with the Kingdom, and renounced his being an *English K.* bound by the Laws, when he declared in his Courts of Justice, and by his *Declaration* under the Great Seal, that he could *suspend the use of all our Laws at his meer Will and Pleasure*; they maintained that the Right of the Crown was inseparable from the Person of *King James*; so that all the Officers of the *Kingdom* must have sworn *Allegiance* to *K. James*, whilst our *K.* had born the *Name* of a *REGENT*.

If they had prevailed herein, as they were very near it, they had declared the *Kingly* Power to have been in *K. James* both by *Divine* and *Human* Right, and stript our *K.* of all *rightful Authority*, more than what *K. James* had been gratiously pleased to give him.

This was the *Master-Piece* of Treachery against our K. in many that aspired to places of Profit, Honour and Truft under him as their now Master: And had it succesded, it would certainly have brought him under the Power of their Old Master, and themselves into their former Capacities, of pursuing their most pernicious designs against the Kingdom.

Truly, my Lord, I never think without some Horrour of our Escape from this Treachery; they had made their Party above 150 Strong in our House, and pray, my Lord, How was it in yours?

Lord Lieut. Sir, I cannot remember how many Lords were in our House, when it was put to the Question, *Whether the Throne was Vacant*; but my Soul was vext to see how near we were undoing all that had been done for the Kingdom by our K. and as I remember we carried it, *not by more than Three* Votes, that *the Throne was vacant*, and the *Kingdom in a condition to settle a lawful Government* without K. *James*. Yet many now in Power about our King had the confidence to *enter* upon Record their *Protestations* against that *Vote*.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I was in hopes when both Houses had agreed that the Throne was Vacant, and the divisions in both were so well known to the whole Kingdom, that our K. would have so *distinguished his Friends from his Enemies*, that there would have been no danger of his believing their Flatteries, nor giving them opportunities of betraying him to their Old Master; but I quickly observed that they were so conscious to themselves of their former guilt in subverting the Government, that they could hardly believe, that *either our K. or the People could forgive them*, and therefore thought it their Interest never to cease their Treacheries against *K. William*, as every new Occasion offered, when they could not prevent the Settlement of the Crown upon our K. and Q. they seemed so zealous therein above others, that they would have heaped all Powers upon them confusedly, without mention or regard to the Kingdoms Rights, or the Antient Form of the *English* contracting with their Kings upon Oath.

They

They boasted themselves to be the *only Men for Monarchy*, that always defended the Prerogatives of the Crown; they would scarce bear a *Bill* for the *Peoples Rights*, as if they had been such Votaries to *K. William*, that they were content to make him their *absolute Lord*; but their *treacherous Intents* were evident, they fought for matter and occasion to suggest against him Ambition, Love of Domination, and Falseness to all his pretences made in his Declaration, that the Peoples Liberties should be secure, that they should never be in danger again to be invaded; they cunningly fought to sow the Seeds of Division between the *K.* and his People, by leaving the Powers of the Crown and the Peoples Rights undistinguished, intending (as their practise shewed) to raise new Disputes about Prerogative, and insinuate themselves into the Kings Favour, as the only Defenders of it, and none others fit to be trusted to support the Monarchy.

Lord Lieut. Sir, I perceive you carefully observe the Debates of your House and the Designs their secret Enemies had upon them, and you bring to my mind what I saw, that some Members of our House, who had *entred Protestations*, that we could not give the Crown to *K. William* and *Q. Mary*, were the greatest Opposers of the securities offered for the Peoples Liberties. But, pray Sir, go on, if you find any other Treacheries.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I find the same Party of Men deceitfully offering their Services at Court, but complaining that they were disabled by want of *Indempnity*, for what they had done in the late Reigns and were in continual danger of being prosecuted for their Estates, or Lives, by Men that would admit of no moderation, pretended, that some Members durst not displease the House in arguing for the Crown, as they would, whilst such *severe rods* were over them; therefore they often pressed and perswaded His Majesty to move the House to hasten an *Act of Indempnity* for them.

Lord Lieut. But, Sir, was there any *treacherous Intention* to our King in *pressing* for an Act of Indempnity? It was commonly thought and said, that it was the *only way to unite* all People to our King, and to take off their thoughts from returning to K. *James*, and for that reason it was absolutely necessary.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, no good Men doubted, that an Act of Indempnity was needful for quieting the Minds of thousands that had been *criminal* in compliance with *K. James*; but that nothing could be *more pernicious* to the future peace and security of our Government, than an *absolute General Indempnity* for all our late *K. James*'s Ministers to forgive all *Treasons, Murders in Forms of Law, Suspensions of the Laws, Establishments of Popish Courts and Convents, surrendring and betraying of Charters, perversions of the whole course of Justice, and professedly laying Foundations for perpetual* Popery *and* Slavery.

For that reason, my Lord, the *Convention* took infinite pains *so to form* an Act of Indempnity as might have answered *all the Ends of Mercy*, yet with *due regard to Justice* and the future Safety of our *K.* and Government.

They agreed in their Votes, that *few* should be *excepted* from Mercy as to their *Lives*, and as few as possible to their *Estates* and all other punishments.

They concluded, upon many Solemn Debates, first to Name the *several sorts of Publick Crimes*, for every of which, *some ought to be punished* for Examples sake, as lasting Monuments of Justice, either as to Life, or Estate, or Fines, or Exclusion from publick Trusts; but the Ministers of the Late Reign imployed all their party to *lengthen out*, and throw *Stumbling blocks* into the Debates, and applyed themselves at Court to blast and scandalize the *Members* of the *Convention*, as Men that would *tear all to Pieces*, and come to *no settlement*;

ment, they accuſed them of Studying Revenge, and ſetting up a Faction, and keeping of thoſe out, who would gladly come in to our *K*'s Intereſt,

I have often ſeen, my Lord, thoſe impudently whiſpering theſe Falſhoods in our Court, who, I knew, did in private ridicule both our *K*. and *Q*. and drink their Confuſion and Damnation; yet they ſo prevailed, that the Convention was blamed for Delays of Setling the *K*'s Revenue,, levying Moneys, and doing nothing: whilſt theſe *Secret Traitors obſtructed every Buſineſs*, and ſtudiouſly prevented the paſſing any Acts tending towards *Settlement*, that all might continue in diſtraction, whereby they hoped to advance K. *James*'s Intereſt, and make themſelves ſeem to be neceſſary to be favoured and imployed by our K.

My Lord, They were ſo crafty in this Affair, that they found ways to flatter our K. with ſhews of *dependence upon his Clmency*, and to inſinuate to him, that they would be content with an *Act of Grace* and Pardon from him, rather than longer to ſeek for an *Act of Indempnity* ſo clogged with Exceptions and Limitations, as the *Convention* propoſed.

They crept into the Court, but were impatient till they were ſo indempnified, and admitted into places of Power and Truſts that they might overlook thoſe whom they had oppreſſed before, and carry on their old deſigns in the former Reigns.

It was not eaſie to diſcern the *hidden Treachery* to our K's Intereſt, in ſeeking a thing ſo ſeemingly harmleſs as a *General Indempnity*; but the deſigners knew the miſchievous conſequences of it; they underſtood that it would amount to our K's *forſaking*, or rather *renouncing* ſome of the *obiect declared Cauſes* of his *coming in Arms*.

He had called God to Witneſs, that he came to Execute Juſtice upon thoſe *Evil Miniſters* of the late K's who had ſubverted the Government, to introduce *Popery* and *Slavery*. They knew that it would Prevent the Terrour in futurity of Exemplary puniſhments upon the greateſt Traytors, which ought to have been one of our greateſt ſecurities of our Liberties and Lives againſt the Evil Miniſters of our Princes. They foreſaw, it would *Diſhonour*, both the *K*. and *Parliament* who had declared *divers Barbarous Murthers* to have been committed upon perſons of honour, and worthy Defenders of our Liberties; whilſt their *Murtherers* ſhould ſtand *indempniſied*, and poſſeſs'd of ſome of the *greateſt Authorities in the Kingdom*. They were well adviſed, that it would ſecure the *worſt Inſtruments* of the *former Tyrannies*, to be ready to continue the like miſchiefs, and to inſinuate themſelves into our K's Councels, upon pretence of their being *experienced in Government*, and always *Zealous for Monarchy*.

Lord Lieut. Sir, You make it plain, that the *Root* of all our Evils, and the Kingdoms preſent weakneſs and fears, had their *firſt riſe* from the *falſe Notions* at firſt given to the K. of *things* and *Men*, and the advices thereupon againſt his own, and the Kingdoms Intereſt. But pray, Sir, what other *Traiterous Practiſes* did they uſe to *deceive* our K. by, to promote K. *James*'s Intereſt againſt his own?

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, they adviſed his Majeſty to Influence ſuch Members of Parliament as he could to *obſtruct* the paſſing of the *Bill* depending for *Corporations*, whereby it was intended to *exclude* from the *Magiſtracy* for ſome years all the *principal Betrayers* and Surrenderers of *Charters* without the Cities and Town's conſent, that by conſequence all the Magiſtrates might have been choſen out of thoſe honeſt *Engliſhmen*, that had hazarded themſelves in oppoſing *K. James* his practiſes to ſubvert our Religion, Laws and Liberties.

Too much Credit was given to their falſe Suggeſtions made to the *K*. that he would create *Multitudes of Enemies* if ſuch a Bill paſſed, and keep ſuch quarrels and fewds as would ſet all the Cities and Towns on fire.

Now by this means moſt of the *principal Criminals* and *K. James* his Adherents were ſuffered to continue in the *Offices* and *Truſts* of all the *Corporations*, to be ready to chooſe *Members* for a *ſucceeding Parliament* like themſelves, and none would be believed, that foretold the danger. The ſpecious pretences of Moderation and Uniting Parties, ſeemed to lay the *K*'s Cares of his own Safety aſleep.

And truly, my Lord, the same Party that were so careful to delude the *K.* to favour the Adherents of *K. James* in the Corporations, were no less industrious to insinuate themselves into his Service and Imployments, they were so prosperous in their flatteries, that in a short time, *most of the Powers and Trusts both Military and Civil came into the Possession of those that ought to have suffered in some kind as Criminals.*

Lord Lieut. Sir, You make me think how I was imposed upon in setling the *Deputy-Lieutenancy* of this County. I was told (by too good Authority) my List would not be approved at *Court*, if I left out those that had been put in by K. *James*, though they had too much served his Intereſt. It was said, that I was not to regard what they had been, and what they had done under *K. James*, if they would *now* take *Commissions* from our *K.* I ought to be for *healing*, and I must confess, I was so *deluded*, that if there should be now occasion for our *Lieutenancy*, I have reason to fear, the far greater part of them, would be more *studious* to promote *K. James*'s Return, than to *raise Arms* against him.

I was troubled, that I was in a manner *forced* to have such *Deputy-Lieutenants*, whom I knew to have been *Enemies* to the *Revolution*; but when I advised with some at *Court*, whether it was fit to seek an Alteration? They bid me *see the change* lately made in *London*; That those who *most complyed* with K. *James* to *destroy* their *Liberties*, and the very *Being* of the City, were made the *major Part* of the *Lieutenancy*; and the *Collonels*, and other *Commission-Officers* made by the *first Lieutenancy* after the *Revolution*, of such as had been *most faithful* to the City and their Countries Liberties, and *most zealous* for the present Government, were at once *turned out by the New Lieutenancy*, I was then hopeless, tho I dreaded the Consequence of making K. *James*'s Party the *Guard* of our *Deliverer* from his *Oppressions*.

Dep Lieut. My Lord, The Mischiefs you prudently foresaw of putting the Powers of our Country into unfaithful hands, are now seen and felt by every honest Man. But, pray my Lord, do you not think, that our K. was as much betrayed in the Councels given him about the *Reduction* of *Ireland*, when these sort of Men had got in his Ear? were not all their *advices* directed to *cherish* and keep alive K. *James*'s Intereſt in *Ireland*?

I could never find any other reason, why *Forty Sail* of Stout Men of War, well equipped, delivered up by my Lord *Dartmouth*, and *Forty more*, which came with our K. from *Holland*, were kept in Port useless, when a Part of them might, *without resistance*, have possessed themselves of the Harbors of *Cork* and *Kingsale* in *Ireland*, being then neither *fortifyed* nor *garrisoned*, and that alone had prevented all the Designs of K. *James* and the *French K.* upon that Kingdom, and saved all that *vast Expence of Blood and Treasure*, which it hath since cost to reduce it, besides the Spoil and Destruction by War, which hath laid a great Part of that Country *waste* and *desolate*.

I dread the thoughts of the Account that must be given of three or fourscore thousand Mens Blood, needlesly spilt in that Kingdom.

If part of the Fleet had been thus imployed, the rest had been sufficient to have crushed all the first preparations of the *French* for a Naval War.

The two late *Kings* had so absolutely betrayed this *Kingdom* to *France*, that he had neither fortifyed *Brest* nor *St. Maloes*, nor *Sherborn*, nor *Havre-de-Grace*, nor any of his Harbours in our Seas unless we shall reckon *Dunkirk* for one, which was fortifyed by us, and then basely sold to him.

It had been an easie Work in the early Spring of 1689. (if the Advices of those faithful to our K. had taken place) to have burnt by surprize the *French* Ships in all those Harbours, which had secured our Merchants a free and open Trade, and put our Dominion of the Seas past all Dispute.

How many *hundred Sail* of Trading Ships would have been preserved by that means to increase the Strength and Wealth of *England*, which now not only serve for *Trophies* to the *French*, but to augment the Strength and Wealth of that Monarch, and set up his People for Traders, and breeding Seamen, to make his *Naval Force* serve his *Empire by Land*?

Lord Lieut. Sir, Do not wonder, that the Fleet

Fleet was not made uſe of to the purpoſes you mention, which had utterly ſurprized both *French* and *Iriſh*; I can aſſure you the *Traiterous Adviſers*, who had crept into our Court had reſolved, that it was moſt for *K. James* his Intereſt to have a *War*.

His *old Officers* in their uſual Language of *Damming*, ſaid, they muſt have a *War*, or elſe they might *hang* themſelves. It was thought fit by the moſt crafty to keep things in *diſtraction*, to make the new Government more burthenſom to the People than the old, to gain time to wear off the reſentments of *K. James* his Tyrannies, to move pity in many towards him, and his *pretended Son*, to throw in *Scruples* in the Peoples minds about the claiming a *Succeſſion* by *Divine Right*, and the *Lawfulneſs* of *depoſing* of a *King*.

They knew that the *French* muſt have time to form a Fleet, and to ſupply *K. J.* with Arms, Men and Money to diſtreſs our *K.* in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and you cannot but remember by the Debates in your Houſe, how delays were ſtudyed in the Preparations againſt the *Iriſh*.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I can never forget the long Debates kept up in our Houſe about Declaring the *Iriſh War*, the Sums to be given for that Uſe, the *time* for which they were to be continued, and the Arts uſed to lengthen them, and keep off the Concluſion; which could be intended for nothing but Delays.

In the *interim*, our *K.* was treacherouſly adviſed to ſend Collonel *Hambleton* to *Tyrconnel*, and to wait the Iſſue of his Negotiation; the effect whereof was his *Conjunction* with *Tyrconnel*, to *diſarm the Proteſtants*, to form an *Iriſh Army*, and declare *War* againſt our *K.*

My Lord, we found no ſmall difficulties to croſs the treacherous Advices of Delay, and obtain from our *K.* a *Proclamation*, appointing a ſhort time for the *Iriſh* to ſubmit to his Obedience, or elſe to ſtand *Declared Traitors* and *Rebels*.

I ſaw, to my Grief, the faithful Duke *Schonberg*'s Excellent Advice could not prevail, when he wiſely propoſed an *immediate March* of an Army for *Ireland* in the firſt of the Spring, to have paſſed through *Scotland* to *Port Patrick*, from whence they might paſs to *Ireland* in a few hours, which had ſecured the *Kingdom* of *Scotland* in their Paſſage, and had ſo ſurprized the *Iriſh*, they had never been able to have formed an Army fit to oppoſe us.

I obſerved that the *Firſt Officers* commended to our K. to ingage in that *Iriſh War*, were of thoſe that had *ſerved K. James*, and in *Coll. Lundy* this firſt Tryal they were put *Major Tiffony* ſo near *London-Derry*, they ſhamefully ſhewed either their *Treackery*, or *Cowardiſe*, which encouraged the Enemy to undertake the *Bloody Siege* of that miſerable Town.

It was, my Lord, by Advice of the *ſame Stamp*, that a *Commiſſion* was obtained for Collonel *Lundy*, to be Governour of *London-Derry*, and to ſend two Regiments only for the Defence of that Town, and all the *Proteſtants* of the *North* of Ireland, when all the reſt of that Kingdom was under K. *James*'s Power; and the Officers ſo ſent ſhewed quickly they belonged to K. *James*, *Coll. Richards* and *Counningham* and reſolved, together with the good Governour *Lundy*, to withdraw their force, and leave the Town for K. *James*'s Service, and haſtened again for *England*.

Our Houſe indeed was *ſenſible* of the *Treachery*, and Examined the *Officers* themſelves and others, and moved for *exemplary Puniſhment*; eſpecially that *Lundy* ſhould be tryed for his Life.

They were in Priſon for a little while, and thoſe that adviſed the Imployment of them took care for their ſecurity and Liberty without the trouble of Tryals.

My Lord, It was no leſs than a Wonder that theſe treacherous dealings had not made *K. James* maſter of the whole *Kingdom* of *Ireland*; that a *confuſed* Number of *Proteſtants* in meer *Deſperation* ſhould throw themſelves into a Town ſo deſerted, reſolving to ſell their Lives at the *deareſt Rate* they could, that Men *unskilled* in War ſhould neither fear *Sword* nor *Famine*, when the ſtrength of that whole *Kingdom* with the *French Auxiliaries* came againſt them; yet the reſult of the Advices then given, was to ſend Major General *Kirk* with Proviſions, Arms and

Men, to relieve that *famishing People*; but when his Fleet was safe in the River of *London-derry*, though the People in great numbers *starved* every day, he never attempted to *relieve* them, under pretence that the *passage* of the River to the Town was stopt by *Bombs*, the Castle *fortified*, and the whole bank of the River strengthened with *Breast-works*, lined with *Musqueteers*.

But our House of Commons hearing that several thousands were starved in the Town for want of the Provisions sent, they examined the matter, and found by sufficient Witnesses, that when Major General *Kirk* arrived in the River, and for some time after, there was *no Bomb*, nor any thing like it; *No Castle* with a *Gun* in it, nor *Breast-work*, nor *Musqueteer* on either side the River, nor any thing that could have hindred his *relieving* the Town, if he had intended it; but it appeared, that he withdrew his Fleet, and Landed his Forces in an Island to secure himself, where he *feasted* and *revelled* with some of the *principal Rebels*, with whom he had lately served *K. James*: In the mean time the miserable People of the Town were left without help, until their own *Courage* and *Conduct*, with Gods assistance forced the *Enemies* to *raise the Siege*.

Lord Lieut. You so discover the ill Councels from step to step, that I hope you kept a *Journal* of them. Pray did none *blush*, when your House was examining these Treacheries? Were none of the Councils changed, when the House shewed such *Jealousies* of the *Managers of* those Affairs, and complained of the *unfaithfulness* of the *Ministers of State*?

Truly, my Lord, *K. James*'s Party grew so bold, that the foulest Action mentioned did not want an *Advocate*, that Party stuck to their point of *delaying* the dispatch of an *Army* for *Ireland*, and gave *K. James* the whole Spring, and much of the Summer of the Year 1689. to strengthen himself, and they applyed themselves chiefly to get those that *hated* our *K.* in their hearts into the *Offices*, upon which the *Success* and *Beirg* of the *Army* depended.

They shewed themselves in the Provision of *Horses* for the *Artillery* and *Carriages*, the buying *Stores* of *Biskets*, *Meal*, *Oats*, and *Victuals*, the preparation of *Transport Ships* and *Convoys*, the Orders for *marching* the Regiments of *Horse* for that Expedition, and the *Commissaries* for the *Stores* for the *Armies* subsistence.

I say, my Lord, in the *Conduct* of all this, and the *Choice* of the *Officers* for them, there appeared so much *Treachery*, upon the *Examination* taken in our House about them, that many of us were afraid that the *Armies* would be betrayed into *K. James*'s hand. Honest Duke *Schomberg*'s Soul was so fretted by his long waiting at *Chester*, to get together but a *small Body of Foot* by the disappointments (thro' the pretended mistakes of Orders) of the coming of his *Horse*, by the unfitness of the *Transport Ships* to carry over the *Artillery* and *Carriage-Horses*, by the neglect of *necessary Provision* of *Stores*, and putting *Wheat* on Board instead of *Bisket* and *Meal*, by the favour of *long expected Convoys*, and other supplies, that the poor Gentleman chose to *hazard* himself with out a *Convoy*, and his small body of Foot, with few, or *no Troops* of *Horse*, and without any *Carriage* or *Artillery-Horse* to try his Fortune to get upon *Irish* Land, when the Winds would suffer him, being willing to run the *utmost danger* of perishing, rather than *not to attempt* some *relief* to the poor Protestants, and suffer the *Treachery* of those imployed to hazard the reputation of his faithfulness.

Yet when the poor Gentleman (in despite of all their falsehood) had Landed his *small Army*, he could not *pursue* the Enemy for want of those Troops of *Horse*, and *Carriage-Horses* and other Necessaries left behind. But the Treachery continued in detaining them, and in letting the *Carriage-Horses* to *hire* for *Plow* and *Cart* about *Chester*, and that Villany enforced him to encamp at *Dundalk*, *in the* Enemies Quarters, and use his Excellent Conduct in saving so small a party against *K. James*'s Numerous Army; tho the *unwholesomness* of the place, and the *failure* of the supplies expected, occasioned the *Deaths* of many worthy Gentlemen, and the *miserable Sickness* and sufferings of many more, and the loss of *Ten thousand* Protestants before the Spring following.

That

That *Treacherous party* had presumed to put the *Stores*, that were the Life of the Army, into the hands of some that were so *notorious* in K. *James's* Interest, that our K. was *convinced* of the Danger, and sent Orders to *seize the Stores*, and secure their *persons*, *books* and *papers*: *And tho the K. and Parliament* agreed there was too much reason for it, yet *that party* had such Interest and Favour to protect them, that *their Offences are covered to this day, and they thought worthy of Trust.*

Lord Lieut. Sir, upon our Review of this First years *Administration*, it is a wonder to me, that the K. did not see how K. *James's* party Flattered and *betrayed* him in his *Councels* and *Management* of his *Forces*; and whileft they pretended to come into his Interest to *settle* him, they had *weakned* him in Reputation, Treasure, and Force; and more *unsettled* him in *Feb.* 1689. then when he was first Proclaimed K. in *Feb.* 1688.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I cannot Imagine what *that party* whispered to our K. to create in him a *distrust* of those that had been and were *more faithful* to him, nor how they gained *such Credit* with him, that rather than *part* with them from his *Councells*, he chose to *disgust* the principle *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen* who had hazarded their Lives and Fortunes for his *Advancement* to the Throne.

But it was so plain to our *House of Commons*, that the *First Councels* of the Revolution were *declined*, and all Affairs directed by the *Advices* of those who had been *Instruments* in the *late subversions*, that there were daily complaints of it in our House, and many Members spoke it out, that such and so many *Miscarriages* both at *Sea* and *Land*, could proceed from nothing but *Treachery*; from thence arose Debates about *Addresses* to remove those from his Councels, who had *openly opposed* the settlement of our K. and formerly betrayed *England* to *France*, and been *declared* by the Commons in Parliament *Enemies to the Laws and Liberties of* England, and that they ought to have been removed from K. *Ch.* II's Counsels and Presence for ever.

But *that party* falsely suggested at *Court*, that our honest Members intended to *restrain Kingly power*, and so cried out of the Danger for the K. to suffer his *Servants* and *Ministers* to be *torn* from him by *Parliament*, that at last they perswaded him it was his Interest forthwith to *dissolve* that *GREAT CONVENTION*; and to gratifie their Revenge upon those who had *discovered* their *Treacheries*, they induced the K. to dissolve it *suddenly*, without those *respects* (of declaring his Intentions before hand, and advising to finish the several Bills before them) which all our *K's* who are well with their People, were wont to *pay* to Parliaments.

Lord Lieut. Sir, I think time hath made it manifest, that *Treacherous Councels* caused the K. to *dissolve* that *Convention*, and the *time* and *manner* of its dissolution *surprized* every man that had been *active* in the *Revolution* with a Sense of his danger: Yet I doubt *some* of us, that might have been heard, did not shew the K. *so plainly as we ought*, how he was therein *betrayed*, and the Ground cut from under his Feet by those *wicked Flatterers*.

He ought to have been told, that he *destroyed* his own *Title* and *Claim* to the Crown, by *dissolving* the *Convention*, before they had provided (by *Oath* or *Subscription* of a Declaration, as was proposed, or any other way proper for a *Convention* of the people to *settle a Government* when the Throne is Vacant) for the peoples general Allowance of the Right and Justice of the Now Settlement and for a perpetual Succession of Authorities to be derived only from them.

He should have been minded, that *some* of his own Councel had *asserted* in the *Convention*, that the *people could not make him K.* and that there could be *no Legal Parliament*, unless called by *K. J's Writ*, and the *Members* took the Oaths of *Allegiance* to K. *J.* as the *Stat.* of *5 Eliz.* requires.

If he *believed* those his *Councellors*, he had *no power* to call a Parliament, nor was there any *lawful Declaration* that the *Throne* was *Vacant*, that all K. *James's* party were as much at Liberty to *maintain* his *Authority*, as when the K. Landed at *Torbay*.

It ought to have been told him, that the *Authors* of those *Councels* to *Dissolve* that

that *Convention* before *such a Settlement*, knew too well that they made himself *Cancel* all his *Proclamations* against the *Irish* as *Rebels* and *Traytors* to him, and all his *Commissions* given to suppress and subdue them as of *no Authority*.

They knew that by making the *Legality* of the Acts of the Convention *doubtful*, they revived the *disputes* concerning the *Collecting* and *Levying* the *publick Revenues* payable to the late K's and the *Legality* of all the *Taxes* imposed for the year 1689. which they were confident the *Judges* durst not have *determined*, not to mention more particulars, they gave a fair occasion for K. *James* to play his Game in *Ireland*, and to have sent out his *Writs* for a *Parliament* in *England*.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, Has not your Lordship forgotten to mention *one part of* the Cunning of the *Treasonable Advice* to *Dissolve* the *Convention*? was it not to put it into the *power* of the *Corporation-Men* appointed by K. *James*'s Charters to *choose* the *greatest part* of the *Members* of the Parliament they advised our K. to call?

When the *People* chose the *Convention*, those that had *betrayed* the Liberties of the *Corporations* were under the *dread* of their own *Guilt* and *Punishment*, and durst not oppose the *Favourers* of the *Revolution*; but they had then been so long *Sheltred*, and so many of their *Leaders* put into *Powers* and *Trusts* under our K. that they durst contest the *Validity* of K. *James*'s Charters, and presumed to set up for *Members* of Parliament, *such* as they hoped would keep them in the Powers of the *Corporations* which they had gotten.

Lord Lieut. Sir, There were *so many Treacheries* in that Advice to *Dissolve* the *Convention* at that time, that they cannot be all Named. It *delayed* the *Relief* of *Ireland* for two or three Months of the Spring of the Year 1690. It lost those *Money-Bills* for that expedition which lay upon the Table *almost finished* by the H. of Commons.

It kept the *Forces* under Duke *Schonberg* in a *starving Condition*, unable to take the Field against the Enemy.

It prevented the *Provision* of a *sufficient Force* at *Sea*, and so retarded the setting out of our Fleet, as gave the *French* the boldness to *enter our Channel*, and *Attacque* us almost in our *own Harbours*, with such success against us, and our Allies, as lost *some thousands* of Lives, and *many a good Ship*, to our Eternal dishonour.

The *French* had such hopes, that by *dissolving* the *Convention*, the Power of K. *James*'s party was revived, that they braved it up and down upon *our Coasts*, and took up the *Harbour* where our K. Landed, and caused such *distractions* in the Kingdom as cost at least a *Million* of Mony in drawing out the Militia.

Yet among all the mischievous Intentions of this *Advice*, I take the *worst of all* to have been that kind of *necessity* which their Councils and Management of affairs put upon our K. to expose his *Royal person* to the Suffering and *Hazards* of that *Irish War*, from which they wickedly hoped he should never have *returned*: And we must all thank God for saving our *Deliverer* from perishing by a *Canon-Ball* that touched his Body.

Dept. Lieut. My Lord, I had never seen so clearly that our K. was *betrayed in every thing*, if I had not been chosen of this Parliament, and observed what sort of Men were busie *without doors* in perswading the *Members*, that all the *Convention* did, ought to be *Null* and *Void*; and I heard mention made by *some Members* of *confirming* their *Acts*, and it was sharply replyed, that what was *Void* from the *beginning*, could *never* be *confirmed*.

Many about the *Court* privately Solliciting the *Members* of our House to *avoid* the mention of the *Acts* of the *Convention*, saying, pray leave them as you find them, but their design was to keep up the *Notion* of *K. James*'s Right, and to make *this Parliament* as well as the *Convention*, to be of *no Authority*, knowing that it is called, and sits only by force of the *Acts* of the *Convention*.

It was a happy head, that in order to a *Settlement* of the K's Throne, contrived the *Bill* to *acknowledge*, that **Their Majesties were, are, and of Right ought to be, by the Laws of this Realm, our Sovereign Liege Lord and Lady**, &c. and to enact, that **all the Acts of the Conventional Parliament**, were

were, and are Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom.

Yet, to my knowledg, there wanted not Whisperers to the K. that it was of *dangerous Consequence* to offer that *Bill*, and *treacherously advised* him to use his *Interest* amongst the Members of both Houses to *lay* it *aside*.

And pray, my Lord, may I not reckon among these *Treacheries* the Advices and Solicitations to our K. to send a *general Bill* of Grace and *free Pardon*, and without regard to *Exemplary Justice*, for those *Treasons* and *Murthers* and other *High Crimes* committed before his coming hither?

I am sure the *same sort* of Men, that solicited *against the security* of the Government, were those that *flattered* his Majesty by that *Act of Grace* to provide for their Security, if it should stand; they not only *deceived* the K. of the *great Forfeitures* and *Fines* that ought in Justice to have born *some part* of the *Charge* of his *Expedition* hither; but have set all their Party at least upon *Even Ground* with the most *Innocent Sufferers* for their Country, to be *preferred* to all sorts of *Magistracies* and *Authorities*, and saved them from making *reparations* to *multitudes*, whom they had oppress under colour of *Authority* in the two last Reigns.

I have heard some of them laugh at the Deceit put upon the K. by that *Act of Grace*, and the *formal Exception* of a *few Persons*, that were *not* the greatest Criminals. They knew that those *Exceptions* could be of *no effect* for *exemplary Justice* and Security, as the *Convention* intended.

The *Chief Crimes* committed in those late Reigns, both in the *Councels* and *Courts of Justice*, were *Treasons at the Common Law*, and tryable in *Parliament only*, (being of a more pernicious nature than those specifyed in the Statutes) and these *Offenders* with their Adherents of lesser guilt, should have been *reserved* for their *Tryals* in *Parliament*, and *Penalties* to have been set by them, and *exempted* from the Power of the K. to pardon, as in such Cases has been usual.

But the *Exception* made of a *few*, such as they are, without *naming* or *distinguishing* their *Crimes*, without enacting any Course for their *prosecution*, and without *Exemption* from *Common Pardons* at pleasure, could amount to no more than to make *the People hope in vain* for some Vindication of publick Justice.

Time has shewed the *Craft* of this Contrivance by the *Indempnity* of all the Persons *excepted*, that are not since in Rebellion against our K. No *Process* has issued against any of them, not *a penny* of their *Estates*, nor *one hair* of their heads hath been touched; and *several* of them have *ever since* sate in the House of Lords, as our *Legislators*.

Lord Lieut. Sir, If you will have my Opinion of the K. his *Bill of Grace*, I think they *deceived* him to *weaken* his *own Interest*, under a specious shew to *strengthen* it.

All the Enemies to K. *William* his coming to the Throne became bold and active to *subvert* him, and assuming to themselves to be the *best* and *strongest* Party, they would scarce suffer *any thing* to be done, but by their *advices*; and all his Affairs were so managed, that scarce any thing had good Success.

They counselled him to hazard his *Royal Person* in a dangerous War in *Flanders*, while the War raged in *Ireland*, and the Desolations there daily increased. They knew the Troops could not be recalled from *Ireland*, unless the *Protestants* of that Kingdom had been *armed*, as they had often *petitioned*; and that therefore the *Number* of the Troops, that he could carry from his own Kingdom must be *small*, and yet their *Advices* would not suffer him to *give Arms* to those *Protestants*, which would have enabled him to have made use of *most* of those forces in *Ireland* against *France*.

The Issue of that *Campaigne* of 1691. I need not tell you, it is too well known, that the strong City of *Mons* was lost to the *French* K. to strengthen his *Frontiers*, and that the *French Bravoes* boasted, that they dare to charge the *Rear* of our *Confederates* in their breaking up the *Campaign*.

I know not by what Councels the *Affairs* at *Sea* that Year were directed, and the *Officers* chosen; but this I know, that the *Success* of the *Fleet* was no better than that

that of our *Armies* at *Land*, and by all our Expence both of Blood and Treasure, the *Power* of *France* was rather *increased* than *diminished*.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, Pray let me mind your Lordship of what I observed in our *House of Commons*, after the K. had been advised to go for *Flanders*: They so press'd upon the House to hasten the *money-Bills*, that they gave us *no time* to think of our *own Safety* in his absence.

Many of us saw the *danger* of the *Government* from the Persons put in *Authority* after the *Act of Grace*, and offered a provision of the *lowest security*, that *all* admitted into their Majesty's Service, should *subscribe* a *Declaration*, That *their Majesties were, are, and of right ought to be, by the Laws of this Realm, our Soveraign Liege Lord and Lady K. and Q.* but by divers Artifices under pretence of Haste, that *Bill* was *evaded*, and our secret Enemies left to play their Game, whilst our K. was abroad.

Then, my Lord, the *mysterious Constructions* of the Oath of *Allegiance*, which some advisers (false to the Government) had only *whispered*, began to be made *publick*, whereby they would have taken off all the *binding Powers* of that Oath to our K. and Q.

It was first instilled into the *Clergys* heads, and they began to appear in some places in combined Numbers before the *Sessions of the peace*, where they were bound to take it, demanding Allowance to put their own *perverted Sence* upon the Oaths, and to Enter it upon *Record*.

They invented the *Notional Distinction* between a K. *de facto & de Jure*, of a K. in Fact, and a K. in Right, allowing no more to our K. than to have *unjustly* got the *Possession* of the Crown, without *Right* or *Title*, and maintaining the *Right* to be in K. *James*. *

Thence they taught that the *taking the Oath* of Allegiance to our K. and Q. was *no acknowledgment* of their Right to the Crown, nor *inconsistent* with the Oaths, they had taken to K. *James*, and that the *power* that our K. and Q. had gained made it *lawful* to swear *Allegiance* to them and obey them whilest K. *J.* is unable to protect them, provided they did *nothing* against his *Right*.

† To the same purpose they cryed up the *Statute* of the 11 *H.* 7. which enacted, that it should *not be Treason to follow a K. in possession*, and therefore advised K. *James*'s *Officers* and *Friends*, that they might *without danger of Treason* take Imployments under K. *William* until they should have a time to appear for their *true K.*

And to *undermine* our K's *true Title*, they set up for him *false claims*, which served only to keep up *questions* about his Title, and to insinuate, that he had no *Legal Right* to the Crown. For that Reason they boldly Printed a Claim for him by absolute *Conquest*, and procured from the *Court* to have it published by Authority. ‖

There was also a former Treatise by the Right Reverend the Bishop of St. *Asaph* Printed, and dispersed, called, *God's ways of disposing Kingdoms*, to justifie the Crown to have been disposed of by God to our K. by the means of his *Sword*.

And to avoid our Laws for his Settlement, another pretence of Divine Right was also set up under the *Airy Notion* of a *Deliverer*.

Yet none of these *New Attempts* to subvert our K's Title to the Crown by the Laws of the Realm, have been thought fit to be *Prosecuted*, nor any man *Indicted* for them tho they were manifestly design'd to *subvert* our *Fundamental Laws* declared in this *Revolution*, and the *Right* and *Property* of every Man's Estate in *England*.

And as they thus used *various Artifices* to render our K's Title uncertain, either from God or Man, slighting and decrying the *plain contract* between our K. and Q. and the people by their *Representatives*, so they Industriously *obstructed* a *Declaration* of the particular *Tyrannies* of K. *James*, whereby it might have been manifest to all the World, that he *renounced* and *abdicated* his Office of an *English Legal* K. to be an *absolute Tyrant*, that had all our Laws in his Breast to suspend the Execution of them as he thought fit.

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* *Dr.* Sherlock's *Case of Allegiance to Sovereign Powers.* † Vide *The Case of Allegiance to a King in Possession.* 1 & 2 *part.* ‖ Vid. *An Answer to Mr.* Ashton's *Paper.*

Whilst

Whileſt they could *avoid* ſuch a *Declaration*, they thought K. *J*'s Caſe would *never* be deſperate, and the *Sufferings* under him would ſlide *out of Memory*, and in a little time they might dare to *compare* (as they now do by printed Papers) the times of *his Reign* with the *preſent*, to delude the people.

Lord Lieut. Sir, There is *another Art* hath been uſed to *weaken* our K's Title, which you have not mentioned; they have dexterouſly *avoided* the matter of the *ſuppoſed* Prince of *Wales*, and would *not ſuffer* it to be brought into Parliament, that the *Impoſture* might have been there proved, and declared to all the World.

From thence occaſion is taken to move *pity* to that poor *Innocent Prince*, as they call him, ſuggeſting, that he might have been bred a *Proteſtant*, and all conteſts quieted about the *Succeſſion* to the Crown, and the grounds of a *perpetual War* avoided, whereby they indeavoured to *cool the peoples Affections* towards our K. and keep them in doubts of *New Revolutions*.

Dept. Lieut. My Lord, I ſee ſo much Treachery in the *whole management* of the K's affairs, that ſcarce have I patience to think of any more particulars. The *whole Adminiſtration* is put into *ſuch hands* as would make a Man believe, that a *deſign* is *deeply* and *ſtrongly* laid to bring back K. *James*; moſt of the *Juſtices of the Peace* throughout *ENGLAND*, (whoſe faithful Execution of the Laws is the Strength of the Government,) are now *ſuch* as would certainly be ready to bid him *welcome*, and many of them ſo *ſcandalous* in their very *Morals*, that the Q. was conſtrained by *Proclamation* to order the *Execution* of the Laws againſt *Debauchery*, even amongſt *themſelves*.

And my Lord, to prove that the *powers* of the *Militia* are in no better hands, I ſhall need no other proof, than to pray your *Lordſhip to look over your own Liſt*.

Lord Lieut. Sir, I think we may conclude, without looking further into the management, that if *thoſe* who adviſe our K. in his *Adminiſtration* had not been *falſe* to his Intereſt, the Kingdom might have now been *free* from the Trouble and charge of *Raiſing the Militia*, as we are Commanded.

I know not whether we are able any way now to ſecure either their *Majeſties*, or our *ſelves*. I ſee by the *Gazetts* and *Proclamations*, that the Q. and her Council know not how far *this Conſpiracy* doth extend. Several of *the Lords* of our Houſe are in hold under the *Charge* of the *Treaſon*; divers of the *Officers* of her Majeſties preſent Guards and other Troops are ſecured; ſome that were lately in great *Command* in the *Army*, are now in the *Tower*; *divers* both Lords and others are *fled*; and, as I hear, great Numbers are *ſuſpected* to have waited for the *Landing* of the *French*, to have ſhewn themſelves in *Arms* againſt their Majeſties; and in ſhort, there is too much reaſon to fear a *general Revolt* of moſt in Authority, if their Service ſhould be wanted againſt K. *James*.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I begin to doubt whether the Q. hath had *faithful Advice* to command the *Raiſing the Militia* every where upon this *Allarm*. It ſhews to all her *Enemies*, that we are in *Great Fear*, it increaſes the *Burthens* and Vexations of the *people*, it renders K. *James*'s party more conſiderable than I hope they are: And I ſee *no ſafety* to be expected from it whileſt it is under *ſuch Command*, and out of a Method long lookt for from the Parliament, to make it Eaſie and Uſeful.

Lord Lieut. Sir, I can give you no Judgment of *this Advice*, ſave only that it is *ſuitable* to all the reſt, which hath been to make a ſhew of *preſerving* this *Government*, but in Truth to keep it *unſettled*, and to preſerve K. *James*'s *pretences alive among the people*, and at laſt to perſwade them there is a *neceſſity* for his *return*, *France* being too Potent for us, and neither *ſafety* nor *trade* to be hoped for without *Peace* with him: and to be plain, I doubt that all the *Advices* given to the K. about the *Management* of *this War*, have tended to the *ſame purpoſe*. I can never believe it had been otherwiſe poſſible that the K. ſhould have been adviſed to have made a War upon *France* by *Land*, when the experience of all Ages hath proved, that this *Iſland* could neither be *ſafe* nor *free* without *abſolute Dominion of our Seas*.

The K's adviſers could not be ignorant of our Ancient Hiſtories, that whenſoever any *Neighbour Nation* could make their *Ships* (ſuch pittiful things as they

then were) more *Numerous than ours*, this Iſland was haraſſed, Robbed and Spoiled, *juſt as we are now frightned*, and in Fine *forced* to receive *new Maſters*.

'Tis notorious, that the *Romans*, *Danes*, *Saxons*, and *Normans*, by the help of their *Ships*, became *Maſters of this Kingdom*.

Thoſe Adviſers could not but know, that all our *former Princes* (till *Charles* the II. betrayed us) were ſo *jealous* of the *French* getting powerat *Sea*, that they durſt not attempt it, until *Her*. 4. reſuming upon the *Frienaſhip* of Q. *Eliz*. they began to *build a Ship of Force*; yet a *Meſſage* was ſoon ſent him, that if he did not *deſiſt*, it ſhould be *burnt* in his Harbour.

They could not but underſtand, that if our *Seas* were *abſolutely commanded* by us, the K. might have been *out of danger* of *expoſing his Perſon* in *War*, and we might have ſate in *Safety*, laughing at all the deſigns that the Councel of *France* could invent againſt us.

Doubtleſs, they knew that the *French* King could neither have had Money, Men nor Arms to *offend* his Neighbours, if the *many Millions* of Money given by *Parliament* ſince this *Revolution* had been ſpent in *Naval Forces*, put into skilful and faithful hands, which had applyed themſelves to prevent the Trade of the *French* with other Nations.

It would have coſt, *leſs than the Money given* to have ſent out yearly a *Royal Fleet* of a *hundred Sail* for our defence and glory, as early in the Spring as was needful; and over and above to have hired a *hundred Sail* of the beſt Merchants to have been wholely imployed to deſtroy their Fiſhing in *New-found-Land*, and their Intereſt in *America*, to have cruſhed their *Villanous Privateers*, and have *burnt* the *Ships of Trade* in all their *Harbours*.

This alone had ſecured *Europe* from the *French* Tyranny, given Safety, Peace and Trade to *England*, and made him ſend K. *James* to a *Convent* to do Pennance for the Ills he hath done.

Theſe Adviſers could not but know, that the Strength and Wealth of *England* could never have been leſſened by a War againſt the *French* at Sea (unleſs ſome ſpecial anger of God had been ſhewn againſt us) our Country could have afforded better Ships, and Men, and Commanders, for the Sea than was poſſible for the *French* K. to have provided, there had been a *perpetual Spring* to ſupply our Expences, the Moneys had returned, as it were, in a Circle, unto the Gentlemen, Tradeſmen and Farmers, becauſe the *Beef*, the *Pork*, the *Bread*, the *Peaſe*, the very *clothing* of the Seamen, had been of our *own growth* and *manufacture*, and the *more Ships* had been equipped for *Sea*, the more had *Trade* and the *price* of our *Commodities* been advanced, and our *force* had been increaſed by uſing it, in regard more of our *laborious Youth* would have applyed themſelves to the *Sea-Affairs* upon ſuch Encouragement, and increaſe of their Numbers would naturally and neceſſarily have promoted Trade and Power, and made all Nations court our Friendſhip.

Surely, theſe could not have been forgotten, having been ſo lately proved by *thoſe*, who purſued this courſe, who were *without Right* and *Title* to the Government and yet were *ſubmitted* to by all the World.

But on the contrary, theſe Adviſers muſt needs underſtand, that when they counſelled the K. to war againſt *France* at *Land*, it muſt be upon very *unequal Terms*, both of expence and hazard.

He could not *tranſport* his Men without *great charge*, and muſt ſuffer the delays and dangers of the *Winds* and *Seas*; He muſt *exhauſt* his own Kingdom's money to maintain his Troops *abroad*, and to be ſpent amongſt *Foreigners* for the proviſions of his Army; he muſt expect to *loſe* many of our *Engliſhmen* by the ſudden change of *Climate*, *Air* and *Diet*, and the Ignorance of providing for themſelves amongſt *Foreigners*.

In all misfortunes and accidents of War he muſt want all *ſudden aſſiſtance* from his Subjects; he can have *no Recruits* in his *greateſt neceſſities*, unleſs the *Winds* and *Seas* ſhall favour him; and his *Troops* may be *utterly deſtroyed*, before it may be poſſible for him to be *relieved*, and they that gave the Advice know, that the *people* of the Country, that is the Stage of the War, are ſuch *bigoted Papiſts*, as would rather cut the Throats of our *Engliſh* in ſuch Caſe of *Diſtreſs*, than afford them the *leaſt Succour*.

Deſo-

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, You have made it ſo plain, that our K. cannot reaſonably aſpire to Greatneſs, Glory, or Splendor, otherwiſe than by gaining *Empire at Sea*; that it could be no miſtake, but *VILE TREACHERY*, to adviſe him to ſuffer in his perſon all the hardſhips, accidents and dangers of a *Land War*, from whence he cannot hope for ſuch advantages, either to himſelf or his Kingdom.

I have often asked the moſt knowing Men I could meet with, what benefit our K. or Kingdom could expect from this mighty War in *Flanders*, if it ſhould ſucceed beyond moſt mens hopes? And the Anſwer I could ever get, hath been no more, than that we ſhould *weaken* the Power of *France*. But I was bold to purſue my queſtion, and ask, whether we thought ſo to beat him in *Flanders*, as that he ſhould give us up his *Fleet*, and his *Naval Stores* to pacifie us, or whether we hope this Summer or the next, to gain his *Frontiers* Cities and Garriſons, which it hath coſt him near *Thirty Years* to compleat, and *many Millions* to fortifie; or was it deſigned to gain part of his Country from him, for the *Engliſh* to inhabit, or to over-run his whole Kingdom and poſſeſs the Crown of *France*, and to plant the *Proteſtant Religion* there by the *Hermophrodite* Swords of *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants*?

To all this it was only ſaid, that our *K.* is *cloſe* in his *Councels*, but no doubt he hath ſome very *great deſign*; I could not forbear replying, that as far as I can diſcern, whoever put his Majeſty upon *winning Towns* and Territories from *France*, and aſpiring to the Crown of that Kingdom were the *moſt deſperate deſigners* againſt the Peace, Liberty and Happineſs of *England*, and the conſequence of Proſperity therein, would be to change us from the *moſt Antient free* Kingdom in the World, to be a miſerable *Province* of a *K.* of *France* under a *Forreign* Army.

I confeſs, my Lord, the only fair pretence for that *War* at *Land* is our K's *Engagements* to the *Confederates*, It muſt be agreed, that the Confederates *ought* to be aſſiſted; but they could not complain, if our *K.* had uſed his Force againſt *France*, which had been fatal to him, if Right and Prudent Councels had been taken.

For the whole *Engliſh* power in Conjunction with the *Dutch* Naval Force, to have been imployed againſt *France* at Sea, to have cut off its *Trade* with *all Nations*, and deſtroyed his *Shipping*, he had never been able to ſend out Armies *equal* to the *Confederates*, nor to have kept his *own people* from *Mutinies* for want of bread.

He might have had work enough, and too much, to have *watched* and *defended* his *Harbours*, and his Coaſts, from the *Incurſions* and *Spoils*, that might have been made by our *ſmaller Veſſels*, ſometimes in one place and then in another, as the *winds* had permitted, and he might have been hindred of *Ammunitions* ſufficient for any *Numerous Armies*.

This had been the moſt ſpeedy and moſt certain Way to aſſiſt the *Confederates* by diſabling *France* to *reſiſt their force*; yet if it had not been thought *aſſiſtance enough* to thoſe our Allies to have taken upon us *the burthen of the War at Sea* for our ſhare, *Contribution* might have been ſent them towards their *Armies*, and a *fourth part* of the Money we have expended in the *Land-War*, would have raiſed them *more Men and Horſe* in their own Countries, than we have been able to ſend into *Flanders*.

I have heard ſome *Miniſters* of the chief Princes of the *Confederacy* ſay, that their Maſters wanted *no Souldiers* in their Countrys, if they had but *Money*.

Lord Lieut. I was ſatisfyed almoſt from the beginning of this War, that the K. was too much adviſed by ſome that are falſe to his Intereſt, but I was never hopeleſs of ſome ſucceſs, until I ſaw, the *Parliament Councils* in the way of its management *declined*.

They wiſely adviſed ſuch a *Vigorous War*; that he ſhould enter into no *Alliance* with Prince or State, that ſhould not make it *one of the Articles of the Treaty*, to break off *all Commerce* and Correſpondence with *France*, and our K. gratiouſly promiſed it, in Anſwer to their Addreſs: and the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* began briskly to make *Prize of all Ships* they found Trading with the *French*, but in a ſhort time a *Neutrality*, and a *free Trade* with them, (no doubt by ſome *Treacherous Advice*)

was

was, and ever ſince hath been *openly allowed* to the *Kingdoms* of *Portugal*, *Denmark*, and *Swede*, the State of *Venice*, and others whereby the *Enemy* is ſupplyed with *Naval Stores* and Proviſions of War, hath *vent* for all his *Native Commodities*, and Manufactures, and is enabled to *maintain* a War both by *Sea* and *Land*.

And for my part I do not underſtand, that his *Armies* are now *leſs Numerous*, than when the War *firſt* began; and 'tis manifeſt his *Fleet* is greatly *increaſed*, and much better *Equipped*, and his *Ports* richly ſupplyed with *Trading Ships* taken from the *Dutch* and us, which are computed to amount to *thouſands*; and I ſee no advantages that we have gained upon him, whence we ſhould expect *greater ſucceſs* againſt him, than we have had *hitherto*.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, it ſeems to me upon our whole Diſcourſe, that *ſome* who have been *falſe* to our K's Intereſt, have had *an Influence* in the Management of *all his Affairs*, and have given him *falſe meaſures* of the *State* of this Kingdom, the *Temper* of its people, and its *Intereſt*, and have cunningly and falſely indeavoured to *divide* his *Majeſties* and his *Subjects Intereſts*, and by Flatteries to lead him into *the manner of Governing which he came to reform*, and they have brought all his Affairs to *ſuch a State*, that honeſt men know not what to do for the ſervice of their Majeſties.

I am ſure upon this meeting of your *Lieutenancy*, required by your Lordſhip, I dare not diſcourſe of our dangers, which I take to be more from *Traytors* among *our ſelves* than from the *French* K. I ſuppoſe it will not now be long before they come. What is your *Lordſhips* pleaſure to have done with them?

Lord Lieut. Sir, For this time I will only read the *Letters* and the *Proclamation* incloſed to me, and give them Orders to have the Regiments drawn forth, Viewed and Muſtred, with Commands to be ready with Mony and Ammunition, according to the *Act of Parliament*, when they, ſhall be Commanded.

I will not make any Clamours by turning out Officers at preſent, but if there be any *Invaſion* or *Inſurrection*, I ſhall make bold, without acquainting *our Court*, to revoke the *Commiſſions* of many of the *Deputy Lieutenants*, and make *ſuch Deputies* and *Officers*, as, to my knowledge, are *True* to their Majeſties, and I doubt not to find *our Country Men* ſo true to their Majeſties, their Religion and Liberties, as to make them *follow* out of the Field *ſuch Officers* as I ſhall *diſcharge* upon that occaſion.

FINIS.